

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 /026 W  
-----061040Z 043279 /12

O 052045Z MAY 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5576  
AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 1214

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y FOR TEXT //PORTION OF TEXT PARA 5  
OMITTED ORIGINAL TRANSMISSION AND USUN ADDED AS INFO ADDEE//

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR RH ZA US  
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT KAUNDA SUPPORTS U.S. PARTICIPATION IN NEW  
RHODESIAN INITIATIVE

SUMMARY: IN MEETING WITH ME ON MAY 5, PRESIDENT KAUNDA EXPRESSED  
SUPPORT FOR FORMER U.S. PARTICIPATION IN RHODESIAN NEGOT-  
IATIONS; SAID HE BELIEVED PATRIOTIC FRONT CAN BE BROUGHT AROUND  
TO ACCEPT U.S. PARTICIPATION; ENCOURAGED THE IDEA OF GETTING  
THE MOMENTUM STARTED ON NEGOTIATIONS; PRAISED PRESIDENT  
CARTER FOR HIS MORAL APPROACH TO WORLD AFFAIRS AND TO SOUTHERN  
AFRICA; AND SAID ZAMBIA WOULD BE PREPARED TO WORK WITH SWAPO  
IN THE INTEREST OF GAINING ITS COOPERATION IF THE TALS WITH  
SOUTH AFRICA LOOKED PROMISING. END SUMMARY.

1. DCM AND I CALLED ON PRESIDENT KAUNDA EVENING OF MAY 5.  
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KAUNDA AND MARK CHONA WERE IN A RELAXED MOOD. KAUNDA EXPRESSED  
HIS DISAPPOINTMENT AT NOT BEING ABLE TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT  
CARTER AND BLAMED THE AMOUNT OF TIME HE WOULD HAVE TO SPEND  
OUT OF THE COUNTRY IF HE ATTENDED BOTH THE YALE DEGREE  
CEREMONY AND THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE AT THE SAME TIME  
AS "FAST MOVING AND UNANTICIPATED DEVELOPMENTS WERE OCCURING."

2. I NOTED THAT SECRETARY VANCE AND FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN WOULD BE MEETING IN LONDON TOMORROW TO DISCUSS NEXT STEPS ON RHODESIA. THE U.S. CONTINUED TO BE FULLY COMMITTED TO PLAYING AN ACTIVE ROLE IN ATTEMPTS TO FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. WE FULLY BACK DR. OWEN'S EFFORTS IN THIS DIRECTION. PRESIDENT KAUNDA SAID HE SUPPORTED U.S. PARTICIPATION IN RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS; "UNLESS THE U.S. TAKES THE LEAD IN ANY ATTEMPT AT NEGOTIATION, THEY WILL FAIL." HE ADDED THAT HE WOULD SUPPORT FORMAL U.S. PARTICIPATION IN A NEGOTIATIONS PROCESS, NOTING HE HAD CALLED FOR THE U.S. TO PLAY SUCH A ROLE AT THE TIME OF HIS MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR YOUNG IN FEBRUARY. KAUNDA RECOGNIZED THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAD TAKEN A NEGATIVE POSITION ON U.S. PARTICIPATION, BUT THE FRONT "COULD BE BROUGHT AROUND". NKOMO WAS BEING CAUTIOUS BECAUSE HE HAD BEEN TRICKED BY SMITH AND MISLEAD BY THE BRITISH IN THE PAST. HE WAS FEARFUL THAT THE BRITISH WOULD FIND SOME WAY TO USE U.S. PARTICIPATION TO ESCAPE THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES. KAUNDA WAS AWARE OF THE SECRETARY'S SCHEDULED MEETING WITH NKOMO TOMORROW AND WAS PLEASED WITH IT. KAUNDA SAID THAT STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN TO GET MOMENTUM GOING ON THE DISCUSSION OF A CONSTITUTION. IT WAS NOT NECESSARY TO START IMMEDIATELY WITH A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE. THERE COULD BE PRELIMINARY BILATERAL DISCUSSION TO DETERMINE EXACTLY WHAT WAS TO BE CONSIDERED. ONCE THERE WERE CONCRETE PROPOSALS ON THE TABLE, THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD BE MORE INCLINED TO TAKE AN ACTIVE PART. THE SAME WAS TRUE FOR THE FRONTLINE STATES. WHEN THERE WAS SOMETHING SPECIFIC TO DISCUSS, THEY COULD CONTRIBUTE MORE POSITIVELY.

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3. I MENTIONED THE VORSTER-MONDALE TALKS, NOTING THAT THEY WOULD BE GENERAL IN NATURE, AND EMPHASIZING THAT WE BELIEVED TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY COULD NOT AWAIT A SOLUTION IN ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA. KAUNDA RESPONDED WITH RESOUNDING AGREEMENT, SAYING THIS POINT WAS TERRIBLY IMPORTANT TO MAKE TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS. IT WAS ONE HE AND CHONA HAD MADE IN ALL THEIR OWN CONVERSATIONS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS.

4. ON THE CAPETOWN TALKS, KAUNDA SAID HE THOUGHT ZAMBIA MIGHT BE HELPFUL IN BRINGING SWAPO AROUND TO SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT PROVIDED THE TALKS CLEARLY LOOKED AS THOUGH THEY WOULD PRODUCE AN ACCEPTABLE RESULT.

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PAGE 01 LUSAKA 01214 02 OF 02 061037Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 /026 W  
-----061044Z 043305 /12

O 052045Z MAY 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5577  
AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
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RUTALS AMEMBASSY LAGOS 756  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 1214

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y FOR TEXT //PORTION OF TEXT PARA 5  
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5. KAUNDA GAVE HIS STANDARD PRESENTATION ON WHY ZAMBIA WAS FORCED TO SUPPORT THE ARMED STRUGGLE BUT ACCEPTED MY ASSURANCE THAT NEITHER OWEN NOR WE WERE ASKING THEM TO STOP THE FIGHTING AT THIS STAGE. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD TO ACCEPT SOVIET ARMS TO SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE BUT HE SAID EMOTIONALLY THAT HE RECOGNIZED THAT ONLY THE U.S. AND BRITAIN THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS AND MORAL SUASION COULD BRING A FINAL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF ZIMBABWE. HE SAID THAT U.S. MIGHT, TO WHICH PRESIDENT CARTER WAS FOR THE FIRST TIME ADDING MORAL FORCE, OFFERED REAL POSSIBILITIES FOR SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. "IF GOD IS WILLING AND PRESIDENT CARTER CONTINUES HIS MORAL APPROACH, THERE IS FOR THE FIRST TIME A REAL CHANCE FOR PROGRESS." PRESIDENT CARTER'S ARRIVAL ON THE SCENE IS A "REAL MORALE BOOSTER."

6. I HAD OPENED THE MEETING WITH A PRESENTATION OF OUR AID  
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PROGRAM OF WHICH KAUNDA HAD SHOWN HIMSELF SADLY MISINFORMED IN VARIOUS COMMENTS RECENTLY. HE LISTENED CAREFULLY TO THE PRESENTATION AND SHOWED OBVIOUS PLEASURE AND PRIDE WITH MY REPORT OF THE SIZE, EFFECTIVENESS AND SUCCESS OF THE PROGRAM. HE SAID THAT THE U.S. APPROACH WAS ON THE RIGHT COURSE, MEETING

REAL ZAMBIAN NEEDS, AND HE EXPRESSED THE STRONG HOPE THAT IT WOULD CONTINUE.

7. COMMENT: KAUNDA'S ENDORSEMENT OF FORMAL U.S. PARTICIPATION IN RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS WAS CLEAR AND UNEQUIVOCAL. IT IS IN LINE WITH HIS PAST ENCOURAGEMENT FOR THE U.S. TO USE ITS PRESTIGE AND POWER TO BRING ABOUT A RESOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. HE DID NOT BACK AWAY FROM HIS SUPPORT OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE, HOWEVER. HE MADE CLEAR THAT HE FAVORED NEGOTIATIONS AS A MEANS TO SAVE LIVES, BUT WAS PREPARED TO SUPPORT THE ARMED STRUGGLE WHICH WAS THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO SLAVERY AS LONG AS NEGOTIATIONS DID NOT OFFER CONCRETE POSSIBILITIES FOR RESOLVING THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM. HIS PRAISE FOR PRESIDENT CARTER'S INTRODUCTION OF MORALITY INTO FOREIGN AFFAIRS IS, I BELIEVE, GENUINE. IT STRIKES A SYMPATHETIC CHORD WITH KAUNDA WHO PRIDES HIMSELF ON HIS OWN HIGHLY MORAL APPROACH TO WORLD AFFAIRS. KAUNDA WENT FURTHER IN SEPARATING HIS OWN VIEWS FROM THOSE OF NKOMO AND SEEMED MORE ENCOURAGING ABOUT EVENTUAL FRONTLINE COOPERATION THAN WE HAVE HEARD IN THE PAST. HOW FAR HE WOULD BE WILLING TO GO IN PERMITTING DIFFERENCES TO APPEAR BETWEEN HIMSELF AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS STILL A QUESTION TO US.

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## Message Attributes

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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
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